



NEWSLETTER OF THE LONDON CHAPTER,
ONTARIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
P.O. Box 2574, Station B, London, ON. N6A 4G9



September, 1991

91-5

H.H. Site: A Point Peninsula Component in the Stoney Creek Area Jeff Bursey

Welcome back from your summer hiatus! This month we feature a presentation from Jeff Bursey, of the Ministry of Transportation. Members are familiar with the amount of work Paul Lennox and his crew do for Highways here in southwestern Ontario, well Jeff will fascinate us with the exploits of the Southcentral highways archaeology office. In particular Jeff will be talking about a Middle Woodland site excavated in 1990, which yielded a great deal of artifactual and settlement-subsistence data. A prize for the member who can figure out what "H.H." stands for (sorry, MTO employees, their families and friends are not eligible. Once again, meeting time is 8 PM, Thursday, September 12th, at the Museum of Indian Archaeology. Come on out and catch up on everything that's happened since the spring.

ANNUAL RATES

Individual	\$15.00
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EXECUTIVE REPORT

At the recent Chapter summer picnic, the Executive met to discuss what arrangements were going to be necessary to see the Chapter through to the end of the year. It was decided, due to her relocation to Windsor, that Megan Cook would step down as President of the London Chapter, and switch positions with Vice-President, Pat Weatherhead. Pat is now President, and Megan is Vice-president. The rest of the Executive remains the same.

The Executive is also discussing the possibility of purchasing a computer for the Chapter. A committee has been struck to look into what the Chapter's needs are, what is available, and what are the costs involved with such a purchase (we may be able to get some partial funding for this). Obviously, continued production of KEWA and our Occasional Publications, as well as administrative and research needs, could all benefit from getting a good PC setup. Once a preferred alternative has been selected, the Executive will advise the membership on what is being proposed, and solicit comments. In the meanwhile, anyone who has some thoughts on what the Chapter should get, or knows of a "good deal", should pass on the information to the Chapter Executive.

SOCIAL REPORT

The Chapter's annual summer picnic was held recently, and, although a small crowd, the members who did attend enjoyed themselves, ate plenty of food, and got caught up with the burning gossip of the field season. Bob Calvert's harmonica playing and a celestial sundial were highlights. Thanks again to Chapter member Raymond Crinklaw for hosting the event.

Because we don't always have KEWA out in time for members to know what is scheduled, the following are the planned Chapter Speaker Nights between now and the end of the year:

Sept. 12 -	Jeff Bursey, Ministry of Transportation
Oct. 10 -	Rick Sutton, McMaster University
Nov. 14 -	Chris Ellis, University of Western Ontario
Dec. -	Christmas Party (home of Neal Ferris and Nina Jones), date to be confirmed.

EDITOR'S NOTE

This month we are provided with a fairly provocative article from Susan Jamieson on some possible alternative interpretations to the so-called Pickering Conquest. As Susan said when she submitted it, the article is intended to throw out some ideas and pull in some feedback. So, if this article provokes a response in you (either positive or negative), fire in your response...lets mix it up out there! If Arch Notes can have a continuing dialogue on what sweat bath pits may or may not have been (longhouse furnaces, anyone?!), surely we can keep a few issues of KEWA going on the conquest hypothesis!!!

Congratulations to Judith, Carl and Eric (John)!!!!!!

Introduction

A quarter of a century ago, James V. Wright published his evolutionary construct for Ontario Iroquois development. This contained an explanation for a brief period of rapid change which culminated, ca. A.D. 1300, in the Middle Ontario Iroquois stage of the Ontario Iroquois Tradition. Wright hypothesized that the transition from Early to Middle Ontario Iroquois was the product of "the unbroken cultural development of the Pickering branch in southeastern Ontario and the conquest and cultural absorption of the Glen Meyer branch by the Pickering branch in southwestern Ontario" (J. Wright 1966:64). The conquest was inferred to have occurred in conjunction with late Pickering incursions into Glen Meyer territory, to the west of Lake Ontario (J. Wright 1966:97; J. Wright and Anderson 1969). According to Wright, it was this process that principally resulted in the short-lived but homogeneous cultural horizon of the subsequent Middle Ontario Iroquois stage (cf. Dodd et al. 1990:325; Kapches 1981:1; Timmins 1985:98-100). This horizon extended across southern Ontario and southwestern New York State (J. Wright 1966:53-65; J. Wright and Anderson 1969:78-79), and was the base out of which the historic Ontario Iroquois evolved. Middle Ontario Iroquois genesis is therefore integral to our understanding of Ontario Iroquois evolution.

The position taken here is that this genesis was largely shaped by exogenous cultural elements introduced through external trade relations in conjunction with large-scale population shifts and realignments. The Pickering branch participated more fully in these processes than did the Glen Meyer branch, but both were exposed to new southern ideas and culture traits which they, in turn, adopted piecemeal, modified, and introduced into Ontario where they were incorporated into locally developing in situ culture bases. Early and Middle Ontario Iroquois material culture, subsistence practices, sociopolitical organization, and ideological beliefs concomitantly were impacted by these elements. From this perspective, the Pickering conquest hypothesis proposes a mechanism by which some of these elements presumably were incorporated by southwestern Ontario populations, but it doesn't allow for the larger context which stimulated their adoption. This paper is a preliminary attempt to examine how local, microcosmic developments in Ontario may have occurred within a macrocosmic framework.

Bases of the Construct

In developing and expanding upon the Pickering conquest hypothesis, Wright followed two major lines of evidence. First he examined "the geographic distribution of Pickering branch sites, Glen Meyer branch sites, and Uren substage [late Pickering/early Middle Ontario Iroquois] sites". From this, he established that Pickering encroachment upon Glen Meyer territory was indicated near Hamilton, Ontario (J. Wright 1966:52-56; J. Wright and Anderson 1969:78-79). Subsequent research has confirmed the lateness of Pickering sites in this area (eg., Fecteau, Molnar, and Warrick 1991; Finlayson, Brown, and Turton 1989:3; Rozel 1979). In Wright's view, this 'invasion' implies a relatively more complex or developed social structure for the Pickering than for the Glen Meyer branch, as it was this structure that permitted "a confederation of villages...to act in concert" (J. Wright 1990:498) and to dominate the Glen Meyer branch. Other

Pickering incursions, discussed below, offer additional support for this aspect of the hypothesis as does the later Pickering mass burial pattern.

Second, Wright undertook detailed trait comparisons and contrasts of Glen Meyer, Pickering, and Uren cultural assemblages. Although he observed similarities between Pickering and Glen Meyer material culture, he was able to isolate differentiating characteristics. On the basis of the latter, he demonstrated that there was "a cultural discontinuity between Glen Meyer and the succeeding Uren substage...in terms of technology, settlement pattern and burial practices": Pickering technology and material culture were believed to reflect "a continuity from Pickering [through Uren] into the succeeding Middleport substage" (J. Wright 1990:498; also see Wright 1966:64; J. Wright and Anderson 1969). This same examination indicated that the Uren substage appeared suddenly in the Glen Meyer heartland (J. Wright 1990:498) and that the Middle Ontario Iroquois stage had a "disruptive effect...on the Pickering branch continuum" (J. Wright 1966:54). Thus, there was some disruption on the development of both branches. This was most severe for the Glen Meyer and least so for the Pickering. These patterns of disruption are relevant to interpretations presented here, which propose that changes were predominantly the result of increased external interactions and the rapid introduction and integration of northward diffusing exogenous cultural (including ideological) elements. Equally rapid acculturative change has been detailed for the prehistoric and historic Onondaga (Bradley 1987) and also may be inferred for portions of the Seneca sequence (eg., Niemczycki 1984; 1986; Sempowski 1989; for a broader discussion see Snow 1981).

The Pickering conquest hypothesis has been widely questioned. Ramsden (1977:341) has dismissed it on the grounds that the proposed geographical scale, which encompasses virtually all of southern Ontario and parts of western New York State, is much too large in light of what is known about how historic Iroquoian groups operated. Others: have noted that there was little evidence for Pickering influence on late Glen Meyer sites (eg., M. Wright 1978; 1986), which Wright himself observed in collections from Southwestern Ontario (1966:53); have delineated regional variants and raised the possibility of multiple origins and clinal relationships within the Early Ontario Iroquois (eg., Mason 1981:336; Noble 1975b:13,50; Pearce 1977:11,91-104,109ff.; Rozel 1979:161-163; also see J. Wright 1966:96); have observed that there was no data to support the large-scale warfare and social disruption implied by the term 'conquest' (White 1971); or have questioned the cultural homogeneity of the two Middle Ontario Iroquois substages (Uren and Middleport) attributed to Glen Meyer-Pickering coalescence (eg., Kapches 1981:317-318; Timmins 1985:163-164; M. Wright 1986:65-67; see also Noble 1975b:52). This notwithstanding, the Pickering conquest hypothesis never has been systematically refuted in its entirety.

In rejecting this hypothesis, most Ontario researchers accept in its stead a pattern of Early Ontario Iroquois regionalization that is consistent with spatially transgressive clinal, rather than distinct cultural, developments (eg., Mason 1981:336; Pearce 1977:11,109ff.; Williamson 1990:295; also see Prufer and McKenzie 1975:170). This perspective is in keeping with observations from the Lower Great Lakes region, where a large number of contemporaneous cultures evidence both north-south and east-west intergradations of culture traits (eg., Brose 1978; Fitting 1978; Mason 1981). However, regionalization in itself does not constitute adequate grounds for refutation of the Pickering conquest hypothesis, for mechanisms of interaction which

promote clinal distributions must be considered: Wright's hypothesis offers one such possibility. An alternate hypothesis is offered here.

It is fact that there was a Pickering population shift to the western end of Lake Ontario, immediately following which cultural evolution to the north of Lake Erie was disrupted to varying degrees. There is a distance-decay pattern to these effects, Glen Meyer populations in proximity to Pickering settlements are the most affected, those farther to the west are more influenced by Western Basin developments (J. Wright 1966:53; 1990:497; M. Wright 1978; 1986). Nonetheless, it is not likely that this process of Pickering domination involved extensive military conquest given a lack of evidence for large-scale burning and destruction or extensive trauma to human remains. Palisades are not of noticeably heavier construction on the proposed 'encroachment area' villages than they are for other earlier or contemporaneous Early Ontario Iroquoian sites, nor are they exclusive to the area of incursion (eg., Fox 1976; 1982:6; Noble 1975b:9; Williamson 1986:28; M. Wright 1986:12-13; cf. Rozel 1979:10-11; Finlayson, Brown, and Turton 1989:5). It is now known that some Early Ontario Iroquois sites were heavily palisaded and others were not no matter what their location within southern Ontario. On the whole, palisades of this period are relatively flimsy compared with later such constructs and may have served more to demarcate habitation areas and protect them from the elements and local fauna than from hostile humans. Hence, heavier palisading, where it does occur, is more consistent with a pattern of internecine than large-scale warfare. It is consequently argued here that it is likely that Pickering domination grew out of essentially peaceable relationships. Historically in the Northeast, such relationships were invariably linked to exchange: an analogous process is proposed here.

We now know that Early Ontario Iroquois population movements were very complex. Beginning around A.D. 1200, and perhaps earlier, there is evidence for extensive Glen Meyer migrations into western New York State and into the Upper Allegheny River valley of northwestern Pennsylvania (Dragoo 1976:85; 1977:45-46; Hayes 1980:91; W. Johnson 1976; Niemczycki 1984; 1986:36-38; White 1961:124-127; 1976:124). *Marginella* shell from the Middle to South Atlantic coasts (Ceci 1989:70) has been recovered from two Glen Meyer sites which date to this time (Fox 1988; Williamson 1990) as well as from later Uren sites (Jeff Bursey personal communication, 1991): trade routes to the Middle Atlantic coast ran along major north-south river systems and from the Ohio system, of which the Allegheny is a part (eg., Little 1987; Noble 1984; Wallace 1970). Dragoo (1976:85; 1977:45-46) also identified Pickering rimsherds from Upper Allegheny River sites dating slightly later, between ca. A.D. 1300 and 1400. These may be related to Pickering population movements at the western end of Lake Ontario as part of a thrust into southwestern New York and the Upper Allegheny valley. It is by no means certain that there was a dislocation of Glen Meyer populations into southwestern Ontario or eastern Michigan as a consequence of the Pickering incursion (cf. Murphy and Ferris 1990:262-263 and J. Wright 1990:497,499). Notably, it was at this same time, ca. A.D. 1300, that Monongahela populations underwent spatial reorganization in the Middle and Upper Ohio Valley (eg., George 1983; W. Johnson 1990:5-7; Mayer-Oakes 1955:6,13,228; McHugh 1984:30). These movements may have a bearing upon the Pickering appearance in the Upper Allegheny insofar as the latter may have taken advantage of social disruption to move into that area. Pickering sherds also have been tentatively identified from the Susquehanna (Heisey 1971:56,65,67; Swartz 1985). Whether or not sherds from these drainages have been correctly identified is somewhat

of a moot point insofar as they represent direct Pickering interactions, if correctly identified, or indirect Pickering interactions, if cognate forms, given the propensity for clinal distributions in the Northeast and the relatively short distances involved.

The geographical distribution of late Pickering sites in the eastern region is indicative of an expansion there, as well. By the early fourteenth century A.D., the Pickering had migrated into the St. Lawrence Valley and were interacting with polities in eastern New York State and along the Hudson drainage (Pearce 1977:89-90; Pendergast 1975:47,55; Snow 1980:307-308; J. Wright 1966:97). This expansion occurred in the wake of population disruptions and Algonquian migrations "from the St. Lawrence basin, down the Champlain, Hudson, and Delaware Valleys" into the Middle Atlantic coastal region (Custer 1987:23; 1989:310; Snow 1980:307-308). Early Ontario Iroquois sherds appear in the Upper Delaware drainage after ca. A.D. 1300 (eg. Werner 1972:114,127). Middle Atlantic and Upper Delaware populations are known to have increasingly interacted with northern Iroquoians after that date (Custer 1987:21).

Incursions by the Early Ontario Iroquois, both within and outside of Ontario seem to be related opportunistically to movements by exogenous populations. Because all of these occur along historically identified trade routes to the Mississippi and, particularly, to the Middle Atlantic coast (Little 1987; Noble 1984; Wallace 1970), it seems likely that they represent active attempts by various populations, the Early Ontario Iroquois among them, to access southern trade routes (cf. Dincauze and Hasenstab 1989:79). Pickering interactions to the southeast initially may have been curtailed by the developing League Iroquois and the focused, sporadic exchange networks which characterized the Delaware and Hudson drainages during the Late Woodland period (Stewart 1989:64). However, it is most probably from this region that the concept of ossuary burial was introduced into Ontario by Pickering populations. That practice has substantial time depth in the Middle Atlantic and southern New England regions (Custer 1989:320; Kaeser 1970; McManamon and Bradley 1988; Ubelaker 1974), and there are both homologues and analogues with Ontario examples. The process of tribal development within the Pickering branch may have been reflected in and augmented by ossuary burial (cf. Jirikowic 1990), but the perspective taken here is that increased sociopolitical complexity arose along individual drainage systems, as indicated by clinal relationships, and is by no means monolithic, as is implied by Wright (1966:22).

The Pickering thrust to the western end of Lake Ontario and into the Upper Ohio system seems to have intercepted a pre-existing Glen Meyer trade route. The majority of pre-Mississippian and 'Mississippified' traits coming into the Ohio valley and the Northeast are known to have rapidly penetrated northwards along the westerly edge of the Appalachian Plateau after A.D. 900 (Fitting 1978; Graybill 1980:57; Griffin 1943:254; 1978:551; Muller 1986:154,156; Murphy 1989:232), and to have contributed to pan-Iroquoian changes that are first observed in New York State during the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. (eg., Dincauze and Hasenstab 1989; Swartz 1985; Tuck 1978). These begin to be expressed in Ontario as trait commonalities with rapidly increasing frequency after ca. A.D. 1100. For example, push-pull and incised horizontal ceramic motifs diagnostic of later Early Ontario and Middle Ontario Iroquois vessels did not originate within Ontario (cf. J. Wright 1966:43-44,49-50 and Morse and Morse 1983:190; Turnbaugh 1977:233-235). Contexts dated by radiocarbon indicate that all have prior southern occurrence (Morse and Morse 1983:190; Turnbaugh 1977:233-235). Other adopted

southern traits include the small triangular projectile point, discoidals, and certain bone and antler artifact types seen in incipient expression on later Glen Meyer and/or Pickering and Middle Ontario Iroquois sites (eg., Dodd et al. 1990; Fox 1982; 1986; 1988; Kapches 1981; Kenyon 1968; Noble 1975b:10; Pearce 1977; Reid 1975:57; Rozel 1979; J. Wright 1966; M. Wright 1978). All of these elements have been recovered from earlier Middle Atlantic, Piedmont, and Upper Mississippian contexts (Custer 1987:21,23; 1989:301-307,320; Dragoo 1971:576-579,583-584; 1977:45-46; Graybill 1980:57; Justice 1987:224-228; Kinsey and Graybill 1971:41-43; Mayer-Oakes 1955; McMichael 1968:31; Muller 1986:141-144,159; Murphy 1989:243-247; Prahll, Brose, and Stothers 1976:291; Prufer and Shane 1970; Swartz 1985; Turnbaugh 1977:233-235). It is noteworthy that the race of maize grown by northern Iroquoians, Northern flint, was derived from Upper Mississippian Fort Ancient populations, as were beans (Riley, Edging, and Rossen 1990:529-531; cf. Morse and Morse 1983:203, Muller 1986:221).

The process of diffusion of these elements into Ontario is invoked for a number of reasons. First, there is a generalized south to north time slope in the initial appearance of these traits throughout the Northeast (eg., Custer 1989:302-308; Graybill 1980:57; Kraft 1975:103-116; Muller 1986:141-144,159; Murphy 1989:247; Stothers and Pratt 1981:94; Swartz 1985; Turnbaugh 1977:230-236). Second, there are no cultural discontinuities associated with their initial introduction. Third, these changes, at least initially, were applied to existing technologies.

Spatial differences within and between Early Ontario Iroquois cultures, then, for the most part may be interpreted as reflecting the degree to which locally developing groups interacted with external polities and adopted, translated, or integrated diffused traits and ideologies. Site distributions and ceramics from along major trade routes indicate that the Pickering branch may have had a virtual monopoly on southern trade into Ontario after ca. A.D. 1300, hence it acted as a filter through which the majority of exogenous elements were incorporated. It is speculated that late Pickering (Uren) information and communication systems encompassed a new, ritually charged contextual framework for social organization and regional interaction, and it was this which permitted rapid domination over the Glen Meyer branch.

These elements changed the characteristics of both the Glen Meyer and Pickering branches, and these changes, in concert, resulted in many of the diagnostics of the Middle Ontario Iroquois horizon, which owes its particular cultural configuration as much (if not more) to external, than to isolated, internal relationships (also see Dincauze and Hasenstab 1989; Jamieson 1986:Fig. 5, no. 56-58; 1989:311). One very minor difference in material culture, but one that may prove to have considerable sociopolitical and historical-developmental import, is the black slate or shale pebble pendant, which was restricted in its distribution to southwestern Ontario (J. Wright 1966:53). This particular artifact type resembles Monongahela channel coal pendants (Mayer-Oakes 1955:220-221; cf. Griffin 1943), believed by W. Johnson (1990:15) to possibly have functioned as a group identity marker. Glen Meyer and later Middle Ontario Iroquois populations in southwestern Ontario may have been identifying with Upper Ohio groups.

From the fourteenth century onward, a more selective, regionally intensified trait distribution pattern emerges that reflects an ever-increasing exchange involvement on the part of Ontario Iroquois with complex Upper Mississippian, Upper Mississippian-influenced, and 'Mississippified' Middle Atlantic populations. At the same time, the western League Iroquois

appear to have been forcibly excluded from these connections by actual incursions of Early Ontario Iroquois populations (eg. Niemczeki 1984).

Particularly rapid acculturative change is indicated with the onset of the Middle Ontario Iroquois Middleport substage (Kapches 1981), which is herein regarded as the zenith of, if penultimate, Mississippian influence on locally developing Ontario Iroquois populations. It also was during this substage that ossuary burial and mass bundle burial variants; endemic warfare; cannibalism; elaboration of the pre-existing smoking pipe complex; a series of inferred social changes (encompassing the emergence both of matrilineal descent and of distinct tribal entities); incised horizontal ceramic motifs in combination with plain body surface treatment; discoidals; the small triangular projectile point; specific bone and antler tool types; and wall trenches come to the fore (Jamieson 1979:147ff; R. Johnston 1979:91; Kapches 1980; 1981; Noble 1975a; Sutherland 1980; Warrick 1984:59-68; J. Wright 1960; 1966:59-65; cf. Dodd et al. 1990:337,352,358). These elements are Upper Mississippian or Mississippian in origin or may be interpreted as developments spurred by 'Mississippified' contacts (Brown 1981; Bushnell 1920:72; Custer 1987:21; 1989; Davis 1984:5; Dincauze and Hasenstab 1989; Dragoo 1971:576-579, 583-584; 1976:82,86; 1977:45-46; George 1974; George, Babish, and Davis 1990; Graybill 1984:44; Griffin 1943; 1978; Guthe 1958:39; Justice 1987:224-228; Kapches 1980; MacCord 1975:27; Mayer-Oakes 1955; McMichael 1968:37-49; Milner 1984:480; Muller 1986:161,166; Murphy 1989:288-292,298-299; Prufer and Shane 1970; Ritchie and Funk 1973; Schock 1976:94,106; Swartz 1985; Tuck 1971; Turnbaugh 1977:232-235; Weslager 1942). Ossuaries and massed bundle burials in association with the placement of postcranial elements in skulls (eg., Saunders and MacKenzie-Ward 1988:21), most likely derive by way of the Middle Atlantic coast (Custer 1989:320; Ferguson 1940:11; Kaeser 1970:27,30,32; Ubelaker 1974:31). These were integrated into locally evolved Ontario cultures.

Adopted characteristics associated with marine shell, mortuary treatment, the ritual use of tobacco, chronic warfare, and cannibalism were expressive of an exogenous southern ideology at an international scale (Feest 1986). These elements may be interpreted as a system of information and communication that provided a contextual framework for social organization, political power, and regional interaction (Hulin 1989; Kleppe 1989; Knight 1986). Although the role of external ideology in northern Iroquoian evolutionary development has largely been ignored by archaeologists, it evidently was a highly significant one which promoted internal change.

By ca. A.D. 1450, Ontario Iroquoians living along the Lower and Middle Genesee and Mud Creek drainages in what is now western New York State were forced to withdraw across the Niagara River into southern Ontario; nonetheless, their influence continued to be felt in the Upper Ohio Valley into the mid 1600s (Dragoo 1971:573; Guthe 1958:67; Niemczycki 1984:76-77; 1986:41; 1987:36-37). This bloody, enforced westerly withdrawal of the Middle Ontario Iroquois at the hands of the early Seneca (Niemczycki 1984; 1986) may be viewed as an attempt to limit Ontario Iroquois access to the northern Delaware and Susquehanna drainages and/or to improve Seneca access to the Upper Ohio system (cf. Dincauze and Hasenstab 1989:82). This was not to be the last exchange-related confrontation between Iroquoian populations located in southwestern New York State and peninsular Ontario.

Conclusions

Around A.D. 1100, 'Mississippified' traits began to infiltrate Ontario from the south, consistent with a series of widespread acculturative changes taking place in the Northeast at that time. By ca. A.D. 1200, Ontario Iroquoians were actively pursuing exchange relationships with Ohio Valley, Hudson, Upper Delaware, and Upper Susquehanna drainage populations. Within approximately 100 years, southern trade into Ontario was largely under Pickering control. Spatial distinctions observed within Early Ontario Iroquois material culture, then, may be interpreted as reflecting the extent to which locally evolving groups interacted with exogenous populations and adapted and interpreted diffused traits. Temporal trends are believed to have been shaped by a late Pickering/Uren trade monopoly, as most incoming elements were introduced through the filter of that culture. For example, later Pickering diagnostics such as ceramic gaming discs, various bone and antler artifact types, the small triangular projectile point, horizontal stamped and incised ceramic motifs, and mass secondary burials all have prior occurrence to the south of, and in regions accessed by Ontario Iroquois populations (Brown 1981; Bushnell 1920:72; Davis 1984:5; Dragoo 1971:576-579, 583-584; 1977:45-46; George 1974; Graybill 1984:44; Griffin 1943; Guthe 1958:39; Justice 1987:233; Kaeser 1970; Mayer-Oakes 1955; MacCord 1975:27; McManamon and Bradley 1988; Morse and Morse 1983; Prufer and Shane 1970; Swartz 1985; Westlager 1942:144). The rapid introduction of these elements is consistent with acculturative patterns from the larger Northeast, promoted and reinforced by new ideological beliefs. As southern exchange into Ontario intensified, many of these elements were to be added to, bolstered, or developed *in situ* as diagnostics of the Middle Ontario Iroquois stage. After ca. A.D. 1450, however, external relations became more attenuated and the Ontario Iroquois developed an inward focus. Acculturative processes were not to profoundly impact Ontario Iroquois cultural evolution again until more than a century had passed.

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End Note

¹ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1991 Canadian Archaeological Association annual conference in St. John's, Newfoundland.

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